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WARFARE

FORTS

Few Lauans have seen heathen warfare. Lau did little fighting. 721

War is called *i valu*, which also means battle, army, battalion. It is also called the Evil (Tha), and the expression "the land is bad" means it is at war. Civil war is *veisei* (to migrate apart).

The villages of old were very small, surrounded by a moat. The plan 712
could best be seen at the old village of Waitambu, which was known as Korotikindua (One-sided-village). It stood on a rocky eminence, Vatulinglingi, by the sea. It was rather difficult of access, especially on the sea side, at which there was no moat; on the land side the moat was broad and semicircular, from the middle outwards branched off another ditch, which may possibly have communicated with an outer moat.

Defences seem to have been repaired only when an attack was expected, when a stockade (*viri mba*) was made, and the water bailed out. Besieging parties set up a rough fence of reeds called a white fence because reeds are white. For "besieging" Lauans use *kamba* (to climb).

ORACLES

If questioned about the ancient gods, a man will almost invariably de- 726
scribe how they were consulted before a war was undertaken. The follow- 757
ing account has been received: 776

Upon going to war, the ancient Lauans prepared large quantities of fermented food (*mandrai*)—the whole of Lakemba made a feast for the god Tui Lakemba, and each clan made a feast for its respective spirits. The people offered up a bunch of coconuts in the usual style (p. 70). The priest took them and rubbed them up and down and said:

"What are these coconuts?" They said:

"The coconuts of the war against Thithia. They are impudent. Let us have an answer whether they can be overcome or not."

The priest would say, "All right, I will go on ahead; three of the enemy will die in battle," and as he threw down the bunch, three nuts would fall off, or one or two as the case might be. Sometimes he said, "You will not kill (*vavu*); some of you will die."

It was so with all the spirits. In Waitambu they would offer kava to the Wind Women (Matangi, p. 192); they lay down the kava root and clapped, and touching it said, "We have come, sirs, we who are in distress, because, sirs, of the army which is about to come. Be gracious and help us in the war. That is all we have come to you for." Then they clapped again, inclined the head and listened for an answer. The women said, "Go that you may conquer," at which they all clapped. If the women were angry they would speak evil and rate them: "You will be smitten," at which the people also clapped; they might not be angry with the Matangi.

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The first child, boy or girl, of the High Chief is treated with state. 851
Women come from Tumbou, Levuka, the country, to hold it by turns in 644
their arms, not allowing it to touch the ground for ten days. They may not sleep in the house where the child is, they may not wash. The chief pays them with feasts and gifts. Leading noblemen come in. Every day a feast is made. On the tenth day the child's grandmothers, who have stayed in the house, go to bathe in the sea, which they do by going to fish. The child is bathed in a bowl or a bucket of fresh water, but they call it bathing in the sea.[20] A feast is made for its bathing.

SICKNESS AND MEDICINE

The Cure, the Diagnosis

Prevention of disease is almost unknown in Lau and it is difficult to 751
make the natives take precautions against infection. It is known that 758
some diseases spread (*ndewa*), but the persons infected are not avoided. Lepers are isolated by law, but are visited by their relatives and friends. In fact, one wise woman thinks that there is more leprosy now because lepers are isolated. Epidemics are called *mate taka.*

Sick persons are much downcast and lie helpless with a blanket over 758
their faces, hardly answering when spoken to. Even taking into consideration that the commonest illnesses are fevers, which have depressing effect, Lauans do not stand up to illness. They also appear to judge a disease by its feeling. As soon as the depressing effect is over, the patient throws off his blanket, sits up, and goes about before he has recovered, hence attacks of fever last longer than necessary.

If a man is ill away from home, his people immediately take him home. The kinsfolk visit the patient. They sit and talk together, and at night have kava, often until late. If the patient be better, he sits up to receive the visitors.

The great number of names of diseases at first sight suggests a precise 753
and highly developed diagnosis. For instance, some of the diseases of the abdomen are called: *ramberambe tu i kete, wanggangga i kete, ngata lua, oso, mbera a mbete, mbati yate, mbondra;* some kinds of "octopus." But an informant explains:

> They are all in the belly, but the names differ; it all depends on what is good 753
> for them (*kena yanga*); if a man is ill in the belly, they send for all those who know 757
> the names of diseases; they try one, then another; they come and touch (*vamotha*) the 755
> patient. If they touch the patient and he gets relief, they bring some medicine. It is our hand that is effective."

[20] Wailevu means great water. In Lau it is the sea, but in Viti Levu it refers to a river. The migration of the custom may explain the anomaly.

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757 In other words, a leech by touching knows whether it is his disease or
755 not—that is, the one of which he knows the cure—or he can recognize whose disease it is. Thus diseases are not diagnosed by symptoms, but by the cure that happens to succeed. The mere touching can sometimes effect a cure apart from any remedies. Thus a boy of twelve was able to cure by touch internal pains in the ear and external swelling of the eye (*fua-fua*). The power was hereditary, and came from his mother's father.

One method of diagnosis by touch is called "bathing" (*veivakasilimi*). The leech puts his finger in the patient's throat, or else the patient sits in a basin of hot water, and the leech after oiling his finger thrusts it up the anus or the vagina. He can thus tell what the disease is, what remedy must be used. It is found that people on the point of death are cold inside though warm outside; others are expanded and there is plenty of room; others are rough, uneven. This method of "bathing" acts also as a remedy for constipation: it brings out the faeces. This method of relief is also used in conjunction with other remedies, for the "bathing," for the bowels are loosened by it and the inside is freed (*ngalangala*) for the remedy to act upon it. It is also used for *prolapsus ani* (*timea lulu ki sau*): it is lifted up on a leaf. In the disease of a woman who used this method, Melaia tried and made a successful diagnosis, and so has continued to use it. It is a supernatural thing, she thinks.

[759] The leech is called *vuniwai*, which may be translated "the origin of medicine," or better, "god of medicine." Medicines are called sickness waters (*wai ni mate*) or simply waters.

Potions and lotions (*i sui*) are usually made by chopping up or chewing leaves; or by scraping off the bark from a stem, wrapping the bark in the reticulum of a coconut palm, dipping it in a coconut shell of water and squeezing it. The number of leaves varies, but are four or eight. Sometimes the first potion is followed by a second called the complement of the medicine. Sometimes leaves are eaten, if with the potion the term is *ithoi*. Bathing or daubing the eyes, or squeezing a liquid into the ears or nose, is called *ndangi*.

Ointments (*i wali*) consist in coconut oil or in leaves chopped up with oil. Fumigation is called *kuvui*. Fomentations (*sala*) are done by applying leaves heated on the embers and wrapped in another leaf (*i tusala*). The body is sometimes gently stroked (*yamo*). Deep massage (*mbombo*) is frequently used to remove muscular fatigue.

Treatment is often repeated on four successive days, during which time certain prohibitions are enforced. Being forbidden the sunshine (*tambu singa*) is common, also food prohibitions: "sweet things," that is, rich things, including pig because of its fat; red things, including red yams and

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particularly crabs; sea water, including any food from the sea; raw things and cold things, such as coconuts and ripe bananas. At one time when a boy was undergoing a light massage, it was tapu to make kava in the house. Some medicines carry no tapu, for others it lasts during the life-time of the patient. That which is prohibited is called the *tambu* of the cure, also its *kalou*. At the close of the treatment the patient bathes, "washes off the medicine." Sometimes the bathing takes the form of a fumigation.

Gifts are then presented to the leech and a feast, called the bathing feast (*i silisili*). It is common for a convalescent of Lakemba to go to the Southern Islands, called leading astray (*vakasesea*) or taking the air (*vakathangithangi*). A man will go to his mother's kinsfolk. The low-born do not come to Lakemba when they are ill.

Following are a number of treatments, some of which I witnessed, some I recorded from dictation, others I copied from notebooks kept by natives:

Abscesses and boils.—Boils, while always numerous, are more common in March, when they are called yam boils (*mbo ni uvi*), because the yam matures at that time. An abscess should be allowed to burst, because if lanced it will run to another spot and appear there. Remedies: (a) chop four leaves of *kura* in banana leaf, mix them with oil, rub mixture gently on injured member for about ten minutes, follow by drinking a potion of the liquid. Continue for two days, when the patient bathes; continue for another two days, patient again bathes. Tapu: mangoes, raw things, grated coconut. (b) The following treatment can be carried out only if the abscess has not been lanced: scrape stems of *walinggio*, *kura*, and lemon, and rub on with leaves of *tumandu*. Place in basin a number of wet leaves of *sinu* and of *uthi*; over them place four hot stones. The patient, covered with bark cloth, bends over the basin and remains for some time, when he is uncovered. Wiping off the moisture, he lies down. Following the treatment I witnessed, the remedy for "brain chewing octupus" was applied (p. 165). After one application the first day, the second and third days no medicine was given. On the fourth day the treatment was repeated, and so on until the cure was effected. Tapu: unnecessary talking during treatment; quiet in the house for four days: the removal of any object brought into the house. (c) For boils, heat a *kura* leaf, roll it between the palms of the hands, and apply.

Asthma (*theno*).—No cure was obtained. For shortness of breath, cut and peal a stem of *siti*; useful in a race.

Mberaambete (the priest is late [because before the priest can come, the patient will die]).—A disease on the edge of the abdomen at the lowest ribs; obstructs the stomach. The name of one who possesses a cure is mentioned and the patient falls asleep with the mere talking it over. The leech is brought, who touches the patient, thus effecting a recovery.

Blows (*wai ni motu*).—(a) Scrape *Casuarina* and *Barringtonia*; one reticulum: strain, heat, and drink. Tapu: fermented coconut, lemon, kava, Brazilian plum, raw food. Bathing: fumigate with *uthi* and *waro*, using four stones. (b) Eight leaves of *suvakalou*; make eight potions and eight ointments; a stem of *walcanggio* to scrape and drink as complement of the medicine, using another reticulum. Tapu: kava, lemons, fermented coconut, offal [? ashes on the hair], Brazilian plum. Bathing: eight stones, candle-nut, a little, but plenty of *matiyavi*. (c) A fruiting branch of *waleanggio*, eight leaves as potion and ointment, and one steam as complement of the potion. On fruiting branch, four stems only should be turned toward the east. Tapu: raw food and fermented pungent food, kava, Brazilian plum. (d) *Tatangia*, the side turned

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757 toward the setting sun. Tapu: raw food and all things in the house. Bathing: four
755 stones, use *uthi* and *waro* leaves.

Conjunctivitis.—A common complaint which sometimes becomes exceedingly painful; often dims or destroys the eyesight. (a) Can be treated by octopus cures (p. 165). (b) Near Rocky Point on the Wathiwathi side is a pool of clear water, into which people plunge with open eyes.

True *nda*, nature not clear.—From eight plants (those remembered were *kulukulu, thangolaya, yalu*) take eight twigs with eight leaves only; chop leaves in oil, place on a leaf of *saivula* banana, heated on coals, rub on body; scrape and strain the stems together, and drink the potion.

Nda tutu.—A kind of abscess which is hard and painless so long as that part of the body is not moved. It moves about for a time without change, then bursts. No remedy obtained.

Nda indro (from *indro*, a disease caused by witchcraft) produces swellings, very painful.—There are various kinds of this disease, to ascertain which the leech strokes with the hand. In one kind the body itches and swells, and the swelling spreads; small pimples appear; the whole body swells up to the face, the genitals are affected, and if not dealt with promptly causes death. (a) For this type the treatment for true *nda* is applied. (b) Cut into equal size, eight twigs each of *kulukulu, yanggoyanggona*, and *thangolaya*; scrape only the lower part and strain into one reticulum. Divide into eight parts and warm in leaves of *saivula* banana, tie with *wa ndina*. Tapu: salt water, taro, and coconut. Bathing: heat eight stones, add ointment; throw into the sea (this should be done at dawn or sunset that the potion may not be wrapped with the patient's shadow).

Ndavuka.—Tokatolu leaves; the potion is the stem; *vesivesi wai* to be eaten with it (*i thoi*). Tapu: raw food. Bath: use potion.

Ndranumi (to wash in fresh water after sea bathing).—Believed to be used for convalescence. Remedies taken from a Moala note-book: (a) Two leaves each of *yanggoyanggona* and *mulokaka*. The leaves of *mulokaka* should be innermost, the top shoot (*uzuna*) only; it should be wrapped in leaves of *yanggoyanggona*, and then wrapped in a coconut leaf and eaten. No tapu. (b) Take four leaves each of *losilosi* and *totondro ni lingau*, place them one on top of the other, roll them up and eat. No tapu. (c) Take two leaves of *mboimboinda*, turn them tip to stem, roll them up, bite and eat the bit that remains. No tapu. (d) Take four leaves of *yaka mei ra kalavo* in pairs. No tapu. (e) Take four leaves of *sasanggalu* in pairs and eat. No tapu. (f) Take four leaves of *soni;* pick them with the right hand and eat on the right side; let not the left hand touch it. No tapu. (g) Take leaves of *waroka*, four leaves of *molau*, roll up together and eat. No tapu.

Elephantiasis.—Very common in Tumbou, is called by a Tongan name *fua*. When it attacks the testicles it is called *theke*. One elderly man cut out everything, including the testicles, and survived. In the old days all had elephantiasis, the young men attributed it to going out early in the dew, and so gave up this practice.

Wanggangga.—A very common fever, begins with rigors, involves swellings in the arms or legs, where the skin becomes reddish. The fever often repeated leads to elephantiasis; of this the natives are aware, whether from observation or because Europeans have told them. The term is perhaps applied to other fevers. The disease *wanggangga* is not serious so long as it affects the whole body, but if it drops to the belly, it causes swelling and is fatal. Remedy from Wainggori, Oneata: (a) Pick from the tree two coconuts, carry them down without letting them fall, beat the husk of one in order to squeeze it, then bring the second and use it [its milk] to water the juice of the first and give it to drink; then get banyan leaves, four, and a fifth, the four being in pairs; pound them and prepare water and squeeze them in it. Have patient drink potion, four consecutive days, three times a day. Tapu: pig for four days, fish also, but not turtle, which is reckoned as shell fish (*vivili*).

Fever.—The English word fever is used by the Lauans, who say it is a white man's disease, that formerly Fijians were strong-blooded, but now they are chilly and

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get fever. They evidently mean by fever not any rise of temperature, but dengue and similar attacks. 757

Imbewalu (eight mats).—So named because with this disease the sick man is confined so long that eight mats have rotted and been removed; then it will be known whether he will live or die. The seat of the disease is in the buttocks, which swell and remain swollen; sometimes they rot (*popo*). It is said to be due to witchcraft. 755

I wawa (waiting remedy) or *i vakatawa, locum tenens.*—[Presumably this is a preliminary treatment, it may be for convalescence.] Strain leaves of *sinu nganga;* then drink. No tapu.

Karaki ndra.—The steam of a *saivula* banana sucker, and the stems of *waro* and *cuwevu*, scrape these two together and wrap all three together in a reticulum.

Kasi.—The nature of *kasi* is not clear. There are at least three varieties: blood *kasi* (*kasi ndra*), swelling disease, accompanied by local inflammation; white man's *kasi* (*kasi ni papalangi*). Said by one informant to be *kasi ndra*; by another to appear in the buttocks and differ from *imbe walu* in not being serious; *kasi ndro* [probably believed to be due to witchcraft]. The Moala notebook describes it thus: "This disease arises with coughing; it is a throbbing pain [*? langa*] in the ribs and reaches the back." Remedy, strain *selekaleka* in a taro swamp with two leaves of *sikavi loa* as a cup. Tapu: sea water and red things.

Madness.—The theory that madness is due to a spirit carrying off the soul is dealt with on page 187. Melaia's views on madness are as follows: 158

There have been three madmen in Yandrana: Taikiko and the brothers Tukeli and Suka. Tukeli used to plant taro at low tide below high water mark. Suka went about naked; he had many sisters, yet he would put on no clothes. He once hit a young lady of Tumbou on the head; a leech sucked the blood from her wound and the people of Yandrana made a supplication (*soro*) to Tumbou. Taikiko married a very old woman and his madness grew up in him, whether she was the cause of his madness or whether spirits (*tevoro*) ate his soul. Why he married her? Probably the madness was coming on. They are all the same in that family. Perhaps a madman was their ancestor (*tupua*); perhaps their god (*tevoro*) was created mad, since madness does not leave them. Perhaps they took the earth of oven holes for their ointment or to bathe in, for they lay in oven holes. Ratu Meli was mad at one time and it is said there was a disease in his forehead which went down and, as it were, covered his eyes. 828

Mathake.—The result of sweet food, affects only certain person. 755

Constipation.—Remedy: scrape *mboimboinda*, chew *nde ni singa;* drink, once only. Tapu: sweet food. 757

Mara.—A disease of the joints; the skin cracks if the disease lasts long, may cause deformed noses (*uthu tha*). Emosi claims it is his disease: [264]

I merely touch the wrist and he recovers. It is a hereditary disease,[a] it is mine I know it; it is not like others who know only it is their disease because they massage it and in time the patient gets better; I know it by touch; I am on the lookout (*vakarongotha*); that disease will jump on to my hand, and I know it is mine; when I touch the wrist it leaps upon me; it is very painful to me. There are no leaves, merely one called *vopo ni vuthe* to massage with (*i yamo*). This massage is hereditary. If the parents die while the child has as yet no understanding, he will still know the cure when he grows up. All my family know it.

Misungga.—Remedy from the Moala notebook: scrape Brazilian plum and Tahitian chestnut; water with two red coconuts which must not be dropped on the ground, but must be carried down from the tree, . . . and pour on the leaves. Tapu: cohabitation, salt water, and sweets. [262 534]

Octopus (*kuita*).—Apparently a general name for disease which involves a widespread pain as in headache and neuralgia; specific names given are: peeping octopus, (*kuita iro*) is like an octopus peeping from its hole; in it the pain comes about four in the afternoon; shut octopus (*kuita songosongo*); strayed octopus (*kuita siri*), brain

[a] The knowledge of it is hereditary.

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757 chewing octopus (*kuita nggurū moya*) (only a name, it is not seen); coir octopus
755 (*kuita mangimaŋgi*); witchcraft octopus (*kuita i ndro*). First one remedy, then another is tried. Some octopus diseases devour the belly; if a mother has pains in the abdomen after child-birth it is octopus; the leech comes, massages her, the patient finds relief, then a remedy is sought. One boy got night octopus (*kuita mbongi*) which hurts in the morning and leaves off in the evening. He said he had eaten an octopus some time before and shortly after the pain began. Remedy: four sticks of *kulukulu*, also called *mamakove*, scraped on a reticulum, wrap the scrapings up, and squeeze them into a cup, the patient drinks part and is rubbed with the rest. Tapu: octopus.

One remedy for brain-munching octopus is called *wiriwiri* or *vitiviri*, a term connected with the witchcraft. The method I saw was as follows: The patient was lying down. Sitting at the patient's head the leech pressed eight leaves of *waro* on the right ear, then squeezed them into the nose (*ndangi*); keeping the hand against one side of the face, he massaged (*mbombo*) alternately the opposite side of the face with the root of the other hand, the fingers on the nose. Then he pressed the temples. If effective, it is repeated four times: *waro* leaves are used on the first and second days; eight lemon leaves on the third and fourth days. The lemon leaves are chewed, spat into a leaf of Tahitian chestnut, rolled up in it and pinned with a bit of reed; they are pressed into the ears and nose and sniffed in. If the treatment is not effective after three applications, the steaming treatment described on page 163 is tried. Tapu: octopus and noise.

One kind of octopus affects the eyes and makes them squint. The head has neuralgia (*? sasāla*) which goes down to the eyes and injures them. It is called octopus because the octopus is neuralgic (?). The remedy is: Take a number of leaves of pig's hoof (*i taukuku ni puaka*); wrap them up in a leaf of *kura*, warm on embers which should not be stirred into a flame; add oil, cover the patient and steam him. Given twice a day, morning and evening, for four days; after which the patient
[264] bathes. Tapu: salt food, raw food.

Kuita tambaki-ndua, one-sided octopus.—Take four leaves of *lawere*, chew, then put into the reticulum, four leaves of banyan . . . .; chew likewise and put into same reticulum. If it is the left side that pains, pick with the left hand; after picking throw the hand four times behind the back, then chew; if his right side pains, then pluck
[Dw2] with the right hand, and then chew afterwards and put into the reticulum. Tapu: salt water, taro, red things, coconuts, bathing in the sea.

753 Organic diseases.—Certain diseases are known as *mbatha ngathangatha*, diseases of the viscera. One old man discussing consumption, which is rampant in Lau, thinks organic diseases are common in Lau because it is a sweet-toothed country, eating much pudding; it is otherwise in the West. Consumption is a new disease and the natives know about it only what Europeans have told them.

754 *Ramberambe tu i kete* (kicking situated in the belly).—A serious disease; it has
756 many ways of attack, usually arising at the top of the thigh, moving to the belly; one arises in the throat and then goes on to the belly; one arises in the center of the belly and extends to the pit of the stomach. One man says it is the same as belly ache (*mosi ni kete*). It is treated with remedies for the belly; if one fails, another is tried. Remedy: Five leaves of *mborete* and six of *senitoa*; strain and pound, then drink. An ointment of chewed *losilosi* leaves, smeared on the hand, and so massage; lotion: leaves of *matiyavi* to be used on the belly. Tapu: *matu* fish and *saivula* banana.

Ruptures (*ramusu*).—The term rupture covers a wide range since Lauans see a break wherever there is a sprain, or a mere strain or stiffness. In a case of stiffness or pain in the hip the leech explained that it was not the bone but the *ua* that was affected. The term *ua* includes tendons, muscles, and blood vessels.

Remedies: (a) A hereditary treatment of deep massage with hands oiled. No tapu. (b) From the Moala notebook: one *ndeniŋana* to be broken into . . . parts each exactly 3 spans long; break two twigs of greenheart of India into two parts, each 1 span, 3 inches long; a mangrove root, one which is young and does not reach the water: break off the tip and break the remainder into two parts of 1 span, 3

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inches each; scrape all thoroughly that no part be omitted; the *ndenimana* should be nethermost, the mangrove between, and the greenheart of India on top. The ointment; four leaves of *wavoti* laid with the stems alternately; then cut up with scissors and add oil; warm it in four leaves of *kura one*. Tapu: stepping over running water.

Sasala.—A superficial pain, as of the pricking of the skin. Comes on when there are heavy black clouds. Dr. B. C. Corney says "roughly speaking *sasala* means either flying muscular pains, or pains caused by *lymphangitis*." It also applies to neuralgia.

Seua.—Either the name of a cure or of a disease. Remedy: chew four banyan leaves; dab the ears, then rub; apply for four days. Tapu: wind and sun. No kava is offered to spirits, nor was it ever the custom to do so. The remedy belongs to the family in Waitambu. My informant learned it from his mother, who got it from her mother, who stroked his hand as she gave it to him. Another man could not use the remedy: it would not be efficacious (*mana*). My informant was reluctant to disclose his knowledge of the cure.

Ngata (*snake*).—A term applied to various diseases, so called because they begin in the legs and rise to the stomach, when the patient vomits. "It is only the snake in the abdomen that does so." A short snake is believed to possess the hand (*ngata leka tu i linga*). Remedy from the Moala notebook: Leaves of *walai* and the top shoot of a reed; bring them home, pound, and drink. No tapu.

Sting.—To cure a sting of the *kamboa* fish, hold the foot over a fire of grass and *sinu* leaves.

Tandoka.—An illness caused by not observing the restrictions on the diet prescribed, it may occur to one circumcised who goes about instead of lying still. Remedies: (a) *Mbele ni ndawa loa* and leaves of *matiyavi*; wrap, pound and drink. No tapu.

Wounds in the eye.—Remedy: Take four leaves of *losilosi* and four top shoots of reeds; chew together and squeeze, then pour on the eye.

Wounds of the body. Remedy: Take four new leaves of *mau*, chew and use as lotion, blow three times on it, do not blow the fourth time. Bathe on the fourth day. No tapu.

A congested bruise is called "dead blood."

Wry-neck.—It is believed that this ailment is caused by a dead tendon in the neck.

Yaws.—Elsewhere in Fiji mothers think their children ought to get yaws, or they will not be strong. I believe it is the same in Lau. Premature healing is believed to be fatal. It is said that the yaws have retreated inside. An after-effect is a sore underfoot which the natives call *suthuve* but do not connect with the disease. Sores are often said "to smell the ground," and so hurt.

Tongan Remedies

The Tongan word for remedy is *faitoo* which the Lauans make into *faito*. Tonga is a land of remedies; there are many many things that are supernaturally effective.

Fuafua (in Tongan *fuofua*) arises inside and aches inside.—A Tongan woman treated by dipping the stopper of a bottle in oil and rubbing the meatus of the ear. There is no prayer. The remedy is ineffective except when transferred. Wind and sea are tapu.

Matafa.—Explained as "the corner of the eye," the nature of the ailment was not made clear to me. Remedy: Take the stem of a *Dracaena* leaf, touch the eyeball with it, break off the tip that has touched the eye, repeating four or five times. Tapu: sun and wind.

Kulakula (Tongan, *kulokula*).—Translated as "red." I saw the treatment applied to an abscess in the arm: the leech, a woman, dipped her fingers in pounded leaves of *molau* and smeared (*wali*) the arm lightly. This is done every day, morning and evening, perhaps for five or six consecutive days. The body may be bathed, but not

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the affected arm. The leech gave a pillow and a mat to the Tongan woman who taught her. The disease may be produced by witchcraft.

Lolokumete.—All the organs of the body pain; sometimes internal discharges occur, which are fatal; sometimes external pus does not appear until after four or five months. It can be produced by witchcraft.

If a person is ill with this disease and the owner of the cure cannot attend, he will say, "Go and tell the patient I cannot go. If it is my disease, when you get there he will find relief; if it is not mine he will not be relieved." As he speaks, the patient recovers. The leech also touches and so knows whether it is his disease.

Treatment for Pregnancy and Birth [23]

Pregnancy is called *mbukete*. Medicines (*wai*) to produce children are called *wai ni luvea*; in some of them the *vativati* fern is used. "It varies," says one wise woman "in the case of abdominal pains. Some women who have no children merely 'bathe' (*sili*) [p. 162] in order to turn the uterus the right way, because hard work such as fishing and carrying burdens turns the path of the child. The test [? efficiency: *i vakandinandina*] is my hand." After this treatment the woman may use a medicine called *wai ni nda*.

Scrape one stick each of *walcanggio* and *warowaro;* wrap the scrapings in the reticulum of a coconut palm, soak in water, squeeze; give to drink. If the remedy fails, the following is tried: scrape the bark off a branch of lemon tree, make an infusion, and give to the patient to drink; cut up fine a leaf of *makota* and with it rub the belly; this is the ointment. Only the wife drinks.

A foetus is in the early stages described as "blood." A distinction is made between abortions which are called *lutundra* (fallen as blood) and miscarriages, described as "the child has fallen." In Mba I was told the first term was used when the foetus was anything up to five months old.

Abortion is procured, but details are hard to obtain, as the practice is now a criminal offence. It is called "causing to fall," also "child-pricking," "pricking in the belly." These terms sufficiently express the method. Formerly it was very common. The people of Wathiwathi used to destroy the children of all their women who married into Tumbou so that they should have no *vasu*, that is sister's sons (p. 40) to be a burden upon them.

After eight months pregnancy a woman is given a slippery medicine called *wai ni kuita kumbe*, octopus of the atlantoid membrane. The disease appears "in the path of the child." It makes the membrane hard and spreads round the waist.[24] The medicine makes it easy to detach the membrane and for the child to be born.

Treatment.—Scrape together one stick of *rongā* and one of *evuevu*, make an infusion for the patient to drink.

[23] For the medical terms of this chapter I am indebted to Dr. W. MacDougall.

[24] The membrane gets hard in parts and is liable to stick in consequence of syphilis. Dr. B. G. Corney writes that he has never met with a case of syphilis in a native Fijian; and there is no authentic case on record. Adhesion of the placenta may, he thinks, be the consequence of yaws which is a close relation of syphilis.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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When the placenta, or "seat of the child" as it is called, appears the midwife anoints her hand with oil, rubs the membrane and finally detaches it carefully. A person who does not know pulls and tears it, and if the membrane is torn the mother dies. The umbilical cord is bandaged and cut off with scissors; formerly it was not bandaged and a bamboo knife was used.

The following cure is used if a woman bears a child and her belly aches:

First, the leech uses a test medicine consisting of an infusion made with four leaves of *vativati* which is given to drink and used to rub the belly. The prohibitions connected with it are sweet food and sea water. The patient is eased, then has tremendous pains, then feels easy again. The leech is then informed that the patient is better and supplies the substance of the cure: one stem of *wavula*, and two shoots of reeds, one tuber of *vativati*, four leaves of *vativati* made into an infusion and drunk. This is repeated four days after which the patient bathes.

The length of the confinement depends on the time of baptism; the mother lies in till then, it may be for months. She is covered with a blanket. Her diet consists of taro stems because it is soft food. The mother eats three or four times a day and twice at night to make the milk abundant. She may not eat pig or sweet food for one or two months till the child is strong lest the mother contract *ndrami*. She may not eat food from the sea for four days, or drink coconut for some time.

Treatment for travail (*wai ni taratara*):

Many leaves of *ale*, and some of *se ni toa* and lemon leaves; when the woman is in travail pound them together, strain them in the usual way and give it her to drink. The *Hibiscus* is used because its juice is viscous, in order that the child may slip. If parturition is hard they continue giving medicine. If these medicines fail, after two nights recourse is made to a spirit-expelling Tahitian medicine (*wai vakataiti*).

Possession

A very popular class of remedies is that called *taiti* remedies. They are known to have been introduced by the Tahitian missionaries, hence the name. They are now used to expel spirits, though one wise woman says this is not the right meaning. "The cause of *taiti*," says Poasa, "is the souls of the dead or the ancestor spirits." If a spirit hits a man so that he does not know his soul, he is *taiti*. Sometimes before he is in sight, the patient declares the leech is coming, and refuses to have him, saying "the place smells bad," referring to the medicine; he struggles. When the leech arrives, the patient tries to escape. As he is held down, he calls out the names of great grandparents, or forefathers, or Tutumatua, or the Wind Women. I witnessed a case of this nature: A boy was seized with pains in the stomach and was delirious; a spirit was said to be eating him. The boy recognized only one man; and complained the spirit had pinched him. A pupil of Ratu, the Levuka man who leads the "Children of Water" came

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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and touched him and he ceased crying. He recovered, but a few days later he got treated in Levuka by Ratu, although he was quite well at the time.

First he had to get some kava to give to Ratu "to beg with." Ratu deputed a Viti Levu man to give the treatment:

Three leaves each of mango, *kura*, breadfruit, folded tightly and given to the patient who chews them, then spits the leaves into his hand and returns them to the leech. The patient lies down and the leech rubs the pit of the stomach with the leaves. When the patient has had the medicine he utters the name of the spirit who has possessed him. The boy in question said it was Koroiravotu, a soul of the dead, a Levuka man who lived in the old village and whom he had never seen.

The bathing consists in using leaves of *uthi* after four days, that the disease may depart. If this does not take effect, another medicine is administered, followed by another bathing four days later.

Ratu also treated a man from Lomaloma who had pains and swellings in the neck and ear which he said were due to a spirit hitting him. He had a relapse which was due to his eating tapu food about which the leech had forgotten to caution him.

From a Kambara born Tongan another remedy was obtained for *taiti*:

One nettle (*salato*), pinch off a whole stem, place in a cup; stir it with a stick without water; smear with it the body of a man whom the spirit is devouring.

From the Moala notebook:

(a) Pick four or eight leaves of bitter *sinu*, and four twigs; break these into equal sizes to use as pestle, then place the leaves in a cup and pour water on them. If they sink the patient will die; if they float he will recover.

(b) True *taiti*: *kovekoveliku* and white nettle. For rubbing use the nettle called *salato ni longa uto* and oranges. Tapu: raw food and all things in the house. For bathing: four stones, *suthi* and *waro*.

(c) Tahitian remedy: *mulomulo* and *vombo*, scraped and rolled with "nettle of the breadfruit grove," placed in the middle; put in the reticulum and strain. Ointment: *yanggoyanggona* leaf, roll up without warning, and stroke with it. Lotin: *kovekoveliku*, pull off eight top shoots, break into equal lengths, then chew and wrap in a piece of bark cloth to strain. Tapu: kava and orange. For bathing: *uthi* and *waro*, four stones.

(d) *Taiti*: Scrape the white part of two roots of screwpine; scrape ironwood; heat together, and give to drink. For steaming, use four leaves of *uthi*, *waro*, and two each of *ndilo* and *seisei;* heat four stones. For bathing use these same leaves. Tapu: to remove things from the house. From Totoya: take off the bark of *molau*, and scrape the core, strain in a cup and drink. Tapu: food from the sea and sweet food. Steaming: heat four stones, press *kura* leaves. The patient is steamed with these so that the body sweats and the disease goes away. No tapu.

The Children of Water

There are cures which are known as cures of the Children of Water, elves which are the *kalou* of the remedy. The following account is given by a Lauan, who says he received the cure from a native of Viti Levu:

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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One night he and the native were sleeping together in the same room, where there was a big box. After midnight the Lauan heard something thumping inside the box as though there were a man inside. He asked, "What is that?" 756

"The *kalou* of my remedy," the young man replied.

"May I see?"

The native took from the box a throwing club with a cowry tied on it; and stood it upon the box. This club was the temple (*mbure*) of a Child of Water. The Lauan was afraid because it stood like a man until morning. He asked, "What is it?"

"The proprietor of my remedy," answered the owner. Then they slept.

Next morning the owner explained, "If any man comes to fetch me to heal, I know by the club: if the remedy will be effective it will stand up. I say to the club, 'If this man can be cured, stand up.' In sleep the *kalou*, Mbokanamate by name, comes and reveals what is effective (*yanga*) for the disease, what leaves to use." The Lauan asked for the remedy and after six months the young man gave it to him, together with a throwing club, and a very ancient club of the type called *vunikau*, which was used by his forefathers, and told him the following things were forbidden to him: fermented banana till death, and whatever he ate or drank he had to pour out some first. After three months the Lauan made his teacher a present. He practiced the remedy for fifteen years; if he wanted to know about a relative he asked the club, "Is he in health?" and if he were the club would stand up. If anything were stolen he would enumerate all the people and at the right name the club stood up.

Mbokanamate comes from Rakiraki on the north coast of Viti Levu. He used to enter the teacher and the Lauan and tell them what was effective for a particular disease.

The remedy consists of 4 *mbokanimbure*, 4 *lera*, 4 *songakeirakiva*, 4 *nona langakali a alewa kalou*, 4 *kinitinganea*, and 4 *sasanggilo*. Besides those leaves there are some hundred written down in a book; but they are not constant. The above six are the base, the truth of the remedy; there is not a remedy in which they are not used except that *mbokanimbure* and *lera* are not used in diseases of the abdomen and in obstruction (*mate oso*). The others are only complements. The first two are good for diseases caused by spirits which make men to go mad; the third and fifth are good for diseases of the head; the fourth and fifth are "refreshers" for diseases caused by witchcraft. For obstruction *tikau ndamu* and *soiwa* are added, being strained in one reticulum. For difficult travail add *wandondundawa*, *oviovilawa*, *kulukulu*, and *Hybiscus*, all in one reticulum. This is sometimes used to bring out the afterbirth.

Spirits and Medicine

All informants are positive that spirits even in olden times did not reveal medicines; the only medicine was the priest: he touched the patient and he recovered. It was denied that there was any connection between the *kalou* of the medicine and what is usually known as *kalou*, that is spirits (p. 185): "There is no spirit (*tevoro*) as the god of the remedy. Only the remedies of the Children of Water have Children of Water as gods." The other medicines simply come down from ancient times. 776 755 757

The herald, however, told me of some remedies that had gods or spirits, but I do not know that they are ancient. Thus the hawk moth (*kumakumare*) is the god or spirit of one remedy; some have the grasshopper; some have a plant, and if the leech wants to pick the leaves the spirit hides them so that the patient dies. Some people are afraid to pick the leaves of their

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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776 own remedy because the spirit is sitting there at the foot of the plant; he
755 is not embodied in it.

757 The term *kalou* of the remedy which was used of prohibited food is also used in spiritualistic medicines of the spirit connected with the medicine. Thus a man who saw a white dog in a dream after treatment for possession, told his Tongan leech who said, "It is the spirit of my remedy."

It was not known why the ancient remedies are efficacious (*mana*). One man supposed they were given to black countries because they are not clever. Possibly God gave them to Fiji.

Remedies are generally concealed: it is hard for a man to tell his because some remedies are efficacious only merely taken inwardly. In other cases a man may take the remedy yet it does not work, because it is a thing of old times, the proper remedy of the owner. Even in this case, however, the names of the leaves are often concealed, and no reason could be given, except by one man who said the remedy would fail (*ndai*) if many knew.

In order to impart a remedy one wise woman would rub the palm of the pupil, who would then be able to treat the disease.

WITCHCRAFT

754 Withcraft is included in the term *wai* (water) which also means medicine, treatment. It is also called *ndraundrau* or called *ndrau ni kau* (leaves), a term evidently from Viti Levu as the Lauan would be *ndra ni kathu*. Another term is *sausau* (pricking).

Vola declares that all witchcraft on the coast can in the end be traced to the hill tribes. Mba, on the western coast of Viti Levu, is especially considered to be the home of witchcraft. The Windward Islands, Mualevu and the Moala Islands, but especially Matuku, have a reputation for witchcraft.

It is most difficult to learn of evidences of witchcraft, as even intimate acquaintances will not bring the possessors of charms to confess. They are ashamed, both because it is bad and because it is forbidden by Government. Men have been killed even under British rule for practising witchcraft. One informant says that of old there were charms (*i sausau*) in every coconut grove; now it is a secret; another, however, says that of old few people knew. They may both be right; charms to protect property may have been considered legitimate; others may have been considered wrong. It is asserted that at the present day all witches have perished, because if a man was suspected he was made to kiss the Bible and if guilty, he perished. However, when three big noblemen died in quick succession, witchcraft was suspected and Ratu Finau compelled the whole island, even little children, to take an oath on the Bible that they knew no witchcraft; those who confessed had to swear that they would never use it again.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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643 then when Ndranivia usurped he seized the state-basket in which were the treasures of the land.

The title Sau occurs in the expression *sautu*, peace, prosperity.

MEDICINE

753 171 The group of diseases called by names of animals are the most transparent. The same diseases, octopus and snake, are found in Eddystone, Solomon Islands; there the animal is a spirit that abides in the person and causes the trouble. In Samoa if a man ate the incarnation of his own particular god, that god "was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body and causing to generate there the very thing he had eaten" (15, p. 17).

753 262 In Lau, the octopus disease may be contracted by eating octopus, and the patient is not allowed to eat octopus. However the Lauans may deny it then, it can be confidently asserted that the food tapu to a patient is called "the spirit of the cure," because the spirit which causes and cures the disease abides in it, and therefore it may not be eaten. Samoa has preserved the theory; Lau has lost it.

757 754 177 In Lau, most cures exist apart from the art of producing them; but it was held that those who knew how to cure the effects of witchcraft also knew how to kill. That reverts to a state of things found in Eddystone of the Solomon Islands, where every cure is part of a system consisting of: (a) charm to produce the disease in whomever steals the fruit of a tree; (b) removal of that charm; (c) cure of the disease. It appears to have been much the same of old in Lau, since Semi says that then they had charms in every grove of coconut palms. But whereas in Lau the charms were buried, in Eddystone they are hung on trees or sticks, as was done in Tonga.

TRIBAL ANIMAL

776 Thekena, Waitambu, and Vakano call their children rats. Thekena and Waitambu say it is because of the jealousy of the Two Ladies who will not allow any but their own children to be called children; but the Vakano people are nearer the truth when they say it is by reason of their rat-god. It would seem then as if these people formerly identified themselves with their god.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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his arms from the rafters of the house and the erection subsides. So far as is known, the period of confinement is not used for formal instruction in communal lore.

When the fathers and paternal uncles of the boys prepare a feast called *i mburua ni tevi* on the first day after circumcision, the village knows that an initiation is being held. The feast is presented to the circumciser outside his house and eaten there by him and by the boys' relatives—their fathers, paternal uncles, brothers, mothers, and sisters. A share of the feast is taken to the initiates.

On the fourth day a large feast called the bathing (*i silisili*) is held. The initiates leave their house for the first time after the operation to return to the place where the operation was performed. They wet and remove the tapa bandages and bathe in the sea. Then they take a piece of green coconut midrib or a stick of *yale* vine (*tabu mbombo*), heat it in the fire, and gently rub the penis to reduce inflammation. The wounds are dressed with chewed hibiscus leaves or chewed *yale* and are again bandaged with tapa. The boys oil their bodies and wrap new white oiled tapa, provided by their mothers, around the waist twice, draw it over one shoulder and down to the opposite hip, where it is tied. Meanwhile a large feast has been prepared by the initiates' relatives. The feast and property such as tapa and mats, also provided by the relatives, are taken to the circumciser's house and presented to him. The food is distributed outside his house, where it is eaten by the whole village. The boys may leave their house after the fourth day, but they continue to sleep in it for a month or two.

Initiation rites for the son of a chief are more elaborate than those for other boys but do not differ essentially from them.

GIRLS' PUBERTY

There are no ceremonies in Lau to mark a girl's first menstruation. Formerly a feast, called *sili ki wai levu*, was held to mark a girl's first fishing at about the age of ten years.

Some girls at the age of ten or eleven begin to twist a lock of short hair over one ear into twenty or more two-strand cords (*tombe*, pl. 3, *A*). These are not cut until the *kotchi ni tombe* ceremony after her wedding night or until it is proved that she is no longer a virgin. These "virgin locks" usually fall to the shoulder but occasionally almost reach the waist. Informants say that now these locks are not much more than a coiffure for unmarried girls without offspring. Only about 50 percent of the girls wear the *tombe*. It is said that the custom of wearing "virgin locks" has appeared recently in Lau. It probably came from Tonga where such locks are called *fangafanga* (Gifford, 9, p. 186).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Paper mulberry

248 The paper mulberry (*masi*) is found on all the islands of Lau. *Masi ntchina* is the most common variety and the best for making barkcloth. It is cultivated extensively in the gardens of Namuka. On the other islands it usually is found in moist, damp places near the village, the trees scattered, not planted in rows as on Namuka. Ongea, Fulanga, and Kambara have grown the paper mulberry only for the last 10 years. Old people say that it grew on Kambara a long time ago, but died out, and that 10 years ago plants were imported from the island of Totoya.

The paper mulberry is planted by men only, preferably during the dry season. Women cut down the trees when they have reached a diameter of about 6 cm. and make barkcloth from the inner bark.

Tobacco

249 276 [177] Since tobacco was introduced into Lau in historic times, the demand for it has been great and constant. However, though it will grow on all the islands, little tobacco is planted. Namuka produces more than any other island of the southern group.

The tobacco seed is planted by men only. When the plants are about 7 cm. high they are transplanted and laid out in rows about a meter apart. The leaves are cut by men, but women hang them up to dry. They tie the leaves together in pairs and hang them over a cord in the house, for they must not dry in the sun.

Tobacco is smoked by both sexes. Usually the leaves are rolled into a dry banana leaf and smoked like a cigarette.

Fragrant plants

249 303 Several plants are cultivated for perfuming coconut oil. *Makosoi (Canangium odoratum)* is a small shrub which usually grows on the sandy flat behind the village near the limestone cliff. It is planted at any time by either men or women. Women pick the flowers and extract the oil from them.

Langakali (Elacocharis articulata) is a shrub which grows wild in the bush but which is planted in the villages by women. The wild plants bloom from March to July but the cultivated ones bloom all year round. The flowers are used for perfume.

Makita (Parinarium glaberrimum) is cultivated on Mothe and Kambara by men and women. [157] The fruit is used for perfuming oil, for dyeing the hair, and for medicine. The natives claim it cures sores on the skin.

Sandalwood (*yasi*) is the favorite perfume. The tree does not grow well and the bark is not very fragrant in southern Lau. The women plant a few trees by seed, but the best sandalwood comes from Mbua on Vanau Mbalavu.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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dark stormy night when, having sailed by canoe from Mothe 577
to the horseshoe-shaped island of Fulanga, we were trying to find Naivindamu village on the shore of the central lagoon. As we sailed blindly about in wind and rain we barely missed one of the mushroom-shaped coral islets which dot the lagoon. One of the three sailors regularly blew a conch shell, the Lauan [201]
signal of distress, but there was no response. He had a slight hope that the natives, upon hearing it, would build a signal fire, he said. Finally he cried: *"Rarama!"* (light). After some minutes I discerned a faint glow ahead, which the boys said was from one of the village kitchen fires. It grew brighter as we approached. In a few minutes the canoe was beached and we were surrounded by faces peering through the darkness and by cries of *"Papalangi!"* (the native word for foreigner or European). They had heard the conch blasts, they said, but the night was too wet and stormy to leave their kitchen fires.

The typical response to treatment by modern medicine also 156
reflects the native psychological set. Upon request I once 757
treated a young Tokalau girl who had received a deep leg wound from a large fish. After the girl had recovered, her father came to me frequently with requests for tobacco, kava, etc. According to native ideology, I owed him a debt for having been allowed to cure the girl, because he could not conceive of my treating her if I had not believed it was somehow to my advantage.

In order to understand the native outlook on life today let 769
us review briefly what is known of the old Lauan religion. 797
Before the introduction of Christianity, the most important superhuman beings in Lau were the ancestor gods, probably introduced into Lau by the Polynesian immigrants who came from Viti Levu. The most powerful ancestors of noble clans were eventually deified after death. When the missionaries landed in Lau the ancestor cult was not only the key to the native religion but also the basis of the social and economic life.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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754 (*ndraunikau*). Sorcery is not so common in Lau as in some other parts of Fiji. The sorcerer secures some of his victim's "dirt"—a lock of hair or a piece of his *lavalava*—and places it in the pointed end of a young, empty coconut shell. The shell is buried in the ground with the pointed end toward the victim's house. The victim then sickens and often dies in a very short time.

754 The illness of Tchicpe, an old man of Tokalau, was thought 757 to have been caused by sorcery. Tchiope was suffering from 278 paralysis of one side of the body. The doctor gave him medicine against sorcery (called *ravulevu*). It is taken twice [824] a day before meals. The bark and green leaves of a tree, called *ravulevu* (*Symplocos spicata*), are ground on a stone and wrapped in a small bag of white barkcloth. The bag is steeped and squeezed in cold water and the infusion is drunk. Bark shavings from the same tree, mixed with a little coconut oil, are then rubbed over the body. The patient, however, failed gradually and died.

753 According to informants the smell of a dead body (called *tangaloa*)[60] may cause three kinds of illness; leprosy, external sores with a bad smell, and internal sores. To protect the [764] mourners against this illness a corpse is usually buried within three hours of death.

As has been pointed out, illness in Lau may also be caused by the infraction of a tabu. Not all sickness, however, is attributed to superhuman agents. Normal labor pains and ailments like rheumatism, boils, and misplaced uterus are believed to be due to natural causes and are treated with natural rather than supernatural methods—by means of herbs internally and externally administered, by massage, manipulation and diet.

757 Boils are considered the most common sickness. Kama 278

[60] Informants know of no deity called *tangaloa* like that of neighboring parts of [171] Polynesia. I found no other meaning for the word.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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treats boils with a special medicine (called *lolotambakau*).[61] The treatment brings the boil to a head. When it breaks it is pressed and washed with fresh hot water and the medicine is applied again. Before and after treatment the doctor washes his hands in cold water, then rubs them with special crushed leaves (*thombona*) and washes them again. Boils are lanced with a shell which has been cleaned with a glowing brand. The shell is not sharpened and is discarded after the operation.

Formerly surgery was practiced more frequently than it is today. An inflated belly was cut open with a bamboo knife sharpened by breaking off the edge. No method of binding together the edges of the incision was known, but medicines were used to aid the healing process.[62]

To induce pregnancy, Wondo, a woman of Undu, puts scrapings of bark of the *sikethi* and *vauvau* (*Hibiscus*) into a medicine bag, soaks the bag in water and squeezes it. The potion is drunk by the patient twice a day. If after two months the woman fails to conceive the doctor takes her into the lagoon and makes a digital examination of the woman's vagina. If displacement of the uterus is indicated the doctor attempts to correct it by manipulation. The woman and her husband are then given medicine (called *wai ni luvea*) to drink. The recipe, made from the bark of a tree, is a secret handed down from mother to daughter.

The native Lauan theory of disease with its emphasis on superhuman causes and cures is directly opposed to that underlying modern medicine. There is probably medicinal value in some of the herbs used, but this problem has not been investigated. The measure of success which the witch doctor attains lies to a great extent in his influence on the mind of the patient. Moreover, the native system of medicine is deeply

[61] The leaves of the *uthi* (*Evodia hortensis*) tree, crushed between the palms of the hands, are placed in a bag made of oiled white barkcloth. This is taken to the patient and the leaves are removed from the bag and rubbed on the affected area.

[62] One of these was the fruit of the *sikethi* (*Aleurites moluccana*) tree. After the skin of the fruit had been removed it was roasted in the fire, cooled, and rubbed on the wound.